

INTEROCEANIC COMMUNICATION AT THE AMERICAN
ISTHMUS.

LETTER

FROM

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

IN ANSWER TO

*A resolution of the House calling for the report of Rear-Admiral Davis
on interoceanic communication at the American Isthmus.*

FEBRUARY 8, 1870.—Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be
printed.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 2, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution of the House of Representatives passed on the 28th ultimo, on motion of Mr. Stevens, requesting the Secretary of the Navy to furnish to the House "any reports made by Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis upon the subject of interoceanic communication across the American Isthmus, and not heretofore communicated to Congress;" and, in compliance therewith, to transmit the accompanying communication addressed to the department on the 21st ultimo by Rear-Admiral Davis, with various papers relating to the province of Darien, numbered from 1 to 19.

Very respectfully,

GEO. M. ROBESON,
Secretary of the Navy.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Rear-Admiral Davis to Mr. Robeson.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
January 11, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to the department various papers relating to the province of Darien, numbered from 1 to 19, inclusive.

These papers are translations of Spanish official documents, running through a period of more than thirty years, from 1757 to 1788. They were collected in Bogota, in or about the year 1852, by Mr. Thomas C.

2049.

Vincent, an English gentleman, who was a member of the "Darien Ship-canal Company," organized in London about that time by Sir Charles Fox, Doctor Black, Edward Hazelwood, and others, for constructing a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien; and they are duly certified by the keeper of records at Bogota.

The failure of the several expeditions for the survey of the Isthmus of Darien, which were set on foot about that time, discouraged this enterprise and led to the dissolution of the company. Mr. Vincent sent the papers to Mr. F. M. Kelly, of New York, the gentleman who has distinguished himself so much by his important contributions to the solution of this great problem.

These documents will be found to contain much of the valuable information of those days concerning the topography of this part of the American Isthmus, its population, productions, soil, and climate; its aboriginal inhabitants and their intercourse with the Spaniards; the passes through the Cordillera; and finally its gold mines and placers. The papers are arranged chronologically; no other order suggested itself. This separates papers of similar import, as for example the diaries of Milla's two journeys across the Cordillera, which, indeed, were actually separate in time; also the papers relating to the construction of a road from Carolina, south, over the mountains.

While they are all linked together by one common topic, the province of Darien, they are not otherwise necessarily connected, and their distribution in the order of time can give rise to no confusion.

Finally, I may observe that these papers possess little interest for any one who is not a patient and careful student of the whole subject; but by such a one they will be regarded as intrinsically valuable.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
C. H. DAVIS, *Rear-Admiral.*

Hon. GEORGE M. ROBESON,
Secretary of the Navy.

List of old Spanish documents relating to the Isthmus of Darien.

1. "Report transmitted to his Majesty, in original and duplicate, in obedience to the royal order from Buen Retiro on the 2d September, in the year 1751, in which order I am directed to obtain information concerning the province of Darien and the progress of its missions." Miguel Remon, Porto Velo, July 29, 1757.

2. A letter from Darien, praying for the establishment of a fort to protect the Spaniards from the Indians and English combined, March, 1774.

3. Declaration made before the governor, Don Andres de Ariza, by Don Fransisco del Castillo, November 8, 1784.

4. Instructions for opening a new road, traversing the mountain chain, to open communication with Carolina, April 8, 1786.

5. Diary of a military expedition under Sergeant Gabriel Morales, July 10 to 25, 1786.

6. Extract from an old document without signature, dated 1787.

7. Letter from Don Josef de Matos to Don José Domas y Valle, April 24, 1787.

8. Letter from Don Andres de Ariza, governor of Darien, to Señor Don José Domas y Valle, governor of Panama, May 9, 1787.

9. Letter from Domas y Valle to Don Andres de Ariza, May 9, 1787.
10. Extract from Villalba's report on the Isthmus of Darien relating to the mine of Caña, September 17, 1787.
11. Milla's first expedition, January 27, 1788.
12. Fersen's journal across the Cordillera, February 16 to 27, 1788.
13. Don Andres de Ariza to Don Antonio Caballero y Gorgora, March 10, 1788.
14. Manuel Garcia y Villalba to Domas y Valle, March 15, 1788.
15. Ariza to Domas y Valle, March 15, 1788.
16. Milla's report to Domas y Valle.
17. Domas y Valle to the Viceroy, March 20, 1788.
18. Fransisco de Fersen to Don Antonio Caballero y Gorgora, transmitting Milla's journal of his second journey across the Cordillera, March 24, 1778.
19. Don Antonio Caballero y Gorgora to Don Andres de Ariza on communication with the Indians, March 26, 1788.

No. 1.

REPORT OF MIGUEL REMON TO THE KING OF SPAIN IN 1757.

Description and guide of the province of San Domingo, in Darien, with information concerning the principal rivers, ravines, and settlements of Spaniards of all colors; the location of the Indians and French; their number, more or less, as given by interpreters and persons well acquainted with said province.

On approaching the principal river of this province, called the Tuyra, we find the entrance divided by a small island into two mouths, the right mouth being called Boca Chica, and the left Boca Grande. This river runs up from the Pacific; ascending it half a league we encounter on the left the mouth of the River Savana, which is uninhabited. Passing up this last-named river, three days, in small boats, there being no freshets, we arrive at a place from which we can cross, on foot, in half a day, to the River Cañazas, which belongs to the jurisdiction of Chepo. In four days we can cross to the River Chuenaque, to be described hereafter. These three rivers have their sources in the same cordillera.

From the mouth of the River Savana, we follow up the principal river, the Tuyra, about three leagues, to find on the right the military post of Chapigana, which consists of a sergeant and eighteen colored soldiers of the militia and a chaplain. The fort is a strong house, with four wooden walls and a palm-leaf roof, fifteen yards long and ten wide. The inhabitants, in addition to some married soldiers included in the eighteen, comprise five permanent families. There are fifteen houses of straw and cane.

From Chapigana, following up the principal river, Tuyra, for the distance of a league and a half, we come to the River de la Maria, and ascending it with the flood tide for four hours, (there is regular flood and ebb,) we arrive at a town containing seven married people and three unmarried, laborers and fighting men, all colored. From this town it is a four hours' journey by land to the place called Minas Baxas, and to some ravines not far from them. Here are found sixteen married and five single able-bodied men, and eleven who are over seventy years of age. All of them are colored people—creoles and negroes—poor, who live by

hunting and by the privilege of taking gold from the ravines; their small force not allowing them to undertake mining operations.

About a quarter of a league from the River Maria, following up the Tuyra, the River de Balsas empties into the former. Continuing up this river with the flood tide forty-eight hours, if there is no inundation, we arrive at the town of Balsas, composed of Indians belonging to the Dominicans, with a priest of that order among them, numbering in all twenty-two families.

On this same River of Balsas, at gunshot distance from this Indian town, is the town of Fucuti, all the inhabitants of which are Spaniards of dark color. The town contains fifteen married persons and ten single, all of them able men, and seven old men of seventy years of age. The employment of some of them is to sow grain for their support; of others, to wash gold in the ravines. All of them are poor people, with the exception of one who is their captain; he has five male and five female servants. Their houses are made of cane and straw.

From the mouth of this River Balsas, following the main river, Tuyra, with the tide, a little more than six hours, in moderate-sized pirogues, we ascend to the three mouths formed by the Tuyra, by the mouth of the River Chucunaque on the left, and by the Pirri, a small river, on the right.

Ascending this river, with the tide, (the Chucunaque,) about four leagues, we come to the mouth of the River Yavisa on the right, which river is navigable only for small boats. Ascending the three first reaches, we find the town Yavisa, an Indian mission with twenty-three fighting men, brought from the mountains more than ten years ago by the fathers of the Company of Jesus; in consequence of the death of their first padre, they are without instruction.

Ascending the Chucunaque, above the mouth of the Yavisa, a little less than a league, we meet on the right the little River Tapisa, at present uninhabited.

This is the route for crossing over to the north coast at a place called Gandi, or Acanti; thus we may go two days up the river in small boats, when we leave these and go on foot two days more, and arrive at the foot of the Cordillera. It occupies another day to ascend and descend to the head of the River Gandi, which empties into the Atlantic Ocean, where there is a town of forty families, mostly Indians. From this town it requires three hours in small boats to reach the Atlantic.

Still ascending the Chucunaque from the Tapisa, we find, at a distance of six leagues on the right, the mouth of the little River Fuguesa; and ascending this three days in a small boat, we reach a landing where there are three or four families of Indians. In one day's march from this place, we traverse the Cordillera and arrive at the little River Pito; and following this on foot half a day's march, we come to where it empties into the Atlantic, about the head of the Gulf of Darien, nearly in front of Bald Rock.

Again ascending the Chucunaque in a small boat from the mouth of the Fuguesa, we arrive, if there should be no freshet, in two days at the Fubugandi, a moderate-sized river on the right; and ascending that one day, we arrive at two mouths, the one on the left being that of the little River Sueti. Ten families reside at a little distance from each of the openings. To go to the north, it is necessary to make a journey of two leagues by land from the Fubugandi to the Sueti; and from this, a half a league carries us to the mouth of the River Salliti, on which river live two families. From this place, keeping on foot along the Sueti, we arrive in half a day's journey at the foot of the Cordillera. From this,

it is a journey of an hour and a half to the Sucubti, which also has its rise in the foot of the Cordillera.

Returning again to the Chucunaque, at the mouth of the Fubugandi, and ascending half a day, we arrive at the mouth of the Sucubti, just mentioned, which empties on the right. Going two days' journey up the Sucubti in a little boat, we reach the settlement which contains about twelve families. There empties on the left just below it a small stream called Ipeti, where, at a distance of a day's journey from its mouth, there are eight families.

Following up the course of the river from the town of Sucubti, we arrive in half a day at the foot of the Cordillera; from this place the ascent to the summit of the Cordillera is a journey of a half an hour, more or less, where we see the Atlantic Ocean; from this summit we descend in half an hour to the head-waters of the Agglatamate, or Aggre, (Agla?)

Following down this river on foot we reach, in two hours, a town which will be referred to in another place; hence in a half day's journey on the river, we arrive at its mouth in Caledonia Bay.

Following up the Chucunaque from the mouth of the Sucubti, we come in one day to the little stream Moreti, which empties on the right, and ascending that one day we find some eight families. To cross over from here to the Atlantic Ocean by the River Navigandi, opposite the Isle of Pines, requires a laborious journey of two days.

Starting again on the River Chucunaque, from the mouth of the River Moreti, at about a day's journey, the River Arquiate empties itself; at the mouth of the river there is a town, the population of which is unknown on account of the absence of its cacique, Don Iuando dios Alsedo, who lived there.

After ascending the Chucunaque, from the mouth of the Arquiate, one day in small canoes, we land, and in two days' journey across we arrive at the River Cuiquinupti, which empties into the Cañazas, a river which belongs to Chepo. Here there are twenty families.

Not having anything further to say concerning the River Chucunaque and its tributaries, we will return to the large River Tuyra, as follows:

Ascending the great River Tuyra, from the mouth of the River Chucunaque a little more than gunshot distance, the middle-sized River Pirri disembogues on the right; and going up this river two of its reaches or turns, we come to the Real de Santa Maria, the principal military post in this province and the residence of its governor.

This contains a stronghold of four equal faces, thirty yards each, made of the same combustible material as the one of Chapigana already mentioned. They are exposed to the risk of being easily set on fire both by the Indians, by means of prepared arrows—a method which they understand—and by the carelessness of the occupants. Late instances have occurred of both. In the disaster and confusion which follow, we must owe our safety to a retreat by a bridge, which ought to be constructed with sufficient space to allow of our marching out in a square, and occupying ground best suited for defense. All these risks might be avoided by making the roofs of tile, which would be economical as well as durable. The palms and the uprights buried in the moist ground rot so rapidly, that it is necessary to renew them every four years.

The artillery of this post consists of nine chambered swivels, which, after the first fire, expand in loading. The garrison consists of a governor, a subaltern, a sergeant, a drummer, a corporal, two artillerymen, and thirty-five soldiers of all colors. All of these are militia except six regulars from the battalion stationed at Panama. Most of the militia are married. The staff is composed of a chaplain, of a storekeeper, a

drummer, a surgeon, a leecher, and a nurse. The spare fire-arms are thirty-four muskets with bayonets, and a corresponding supply of powder, ball, flints, and match-ropes. The number of inhabitants, besides fourteen soldiers married in the country, consists of fifteen housekeepers, who have eight sons and ten slaves capable of bearing arms; all of them people of color except two who are white Europeans.

There are some thirty-seven houses of straw and cane. The inhabitants are employed in raising plantains and maize, and in hunting and fishing; by which means they acquire a miserable support.

They are a rude people, on account of their being surrounded by rivers, marshes, and low grounds, over which the tide rises and falls to such an extent that, during the high tide, they are obliged to move about in boats. Hence arises a great deal of sickness, which does not exist in other towns that are situated on higher ground and are free from water.

Still continuing up the River Pirri two more turns, we come to the mission town of Pirri, with a priest of the Dominican order, and containing thirteen families from neighboring towns.

Returning to the Tuyra and ascending it a league and a half above Pirri, we find on the right the town of Molineca, an Indian mission, having also a Dominican priest, and twenty-three families of Indians; fighting men. Still ascending the Tuyra from Molineca, a distance of four leagues, we come to the ravine Allusa. From this ravine following up the Tuyra, at a distance of three bends of the river, on the left-hand side, the Yapeti empties itself; this ravine is uninhabited. Seven bends further on the left, the River Capeti empties itself. At the head of this river navigation for small boats, we land to go to the dwelling place of the Paparos Indians in the most inaccessible part of the mountains. These Indians appear to be mixed with negroes. They have no communication with other Indians, or with any other people whatever, on which account their number is not known, but it is estimated to be less than eighty fighting men.

From the mouth of the Capeti, following the Tuyra seven turns further, there empties on the right the Ypelisa.

This river was ascended in small boats to go to Cana, a journey of three days—without freshets—as far as the landing; and then half a day by land to Cana. Three fighting Indians live at this post, who provide for beasts of burden, which leave this post for the regular land route, occupying two days to Cana, the population of which consists of people of color and Spaniards. There is a military post and a block-house, similar to that described at Chapigana, with a sergeant and eight men. The inhabitants of Cana number twenty-one—all people over fifty years of age except six, who are vigorous men; the captain, Balthasa de Estrada, is seventy years old; they are all poor. Their employment is to sow grain for their support, and to wash for gold in the ravines, their limited force not allowing them to undertake regular mining operations. Their houses are like the others, of cane and straw.

Following up the Tuyra again from the mouth of the valley Ypelisa, at a cable's distance is the town of Cupe, which contains forty fighting Indians, and, like Yavisa, is a Jesuit mission.

Still ascending the Tuyra above Cupe half a day's journey in a boat, the River Pucurree empties itself on the left, and a day's journey up the latter leads to the valley of the Ypelisa. There is a town of eight families on the way from the landing here to the valley of the Maraquilla, a distance of two leagues by boat from the mouth of the Ypelisa.

From Maraquilla it is an hour and a half hour's journey on foot to Parcaparca, a small valley where five or six families live. This river

empties into the Tiperri, and the Tiperri again into the Palla. A day's journey from Tiperri leads to the head of the Palla, where there are five or six families.

From this place, which is at the foot, the ascent to the top of the Cordillera occupies two hours, and the descent to the Araquilla two hours more. The latter turns to the north and ends in a lake called Tigre, from which lake the passage is made in one day's sail to the mouth of the Tarena, on the Atlantic coast.

Starting again from the Pucuree, and ascending the great River Tuyra a day's journey in a canoe, we arrive at the river Palla; and ascending this two days in a canoe, we find a population of seven or eight families; from hence it is two days to the foot of the Cordillera, passing through two valleys named Tracuna and Ocubquilla, in each of which there are two families.

From the landing at Palla there is also a road to the right by the valley Tuggule, at one day's journey from which dwell two families of Indians; from hence, keeping always to the right, and ascending the Cordillera, a day's journey leads to the head of the River Lio, on which, in valleys opening into it, there dwell sixty families, more or less. Descending this river, two days' journey leads to the River Atrato, at a point one day's journey above its mouth.

Ascending the Pucuree from the mouth of the Ypelisa in boats, we arrive at the valley of the Apellac; and ascending the latter one day, we reach the foot of the Cordillera, where one family dwells.

Mounting the Cordillera on foot, we come in a day's march to the head of the Tigre, a river which empties into a lake of the same name. On this river dwell twelve families.

THE INHABITED RIVERS WHICH EMPTY INTO THE ATLANTIC BETWEEN THE CAYMAN AND SAN BLAS, AND THEIR POPULATION NEAR THE SEA.

Coasting along from Carthagena to Porto Velo, the first Indians met with are five families, more or less, who live on the River Cayman, which is to the eastward of the Gulf of Darien. With them are twenty-five or thirty Frenchmen, all living with Indian women, by whom they have many children.

They have numerous cocoa trees, which they are constantly improving. This river is navigable for pirogues up to the landing, which is not far off; above the landing, the navigation is in small boats.

About three leagues from the Cayman, in the same direction, is the mouth of the Turba, also navigable; and on this river are about five French and eight Indian families, with many plantations of chocolate trees. These trees increase so rapidly that it was not possible to count their number.

From here to the Gulf of Choco, which is seven leagues wide in the narrowest part, there is no settlement, on account of the liability to overflow and the number of mangrove trees.

After passing this gulf we come to the River Tarena, into which empties another river, named Araquilla, six leagues from the mouth, on the left hand, as has been already described. On the Araquilla there are some thirty families of Indians, and on the Tarena, a day's journey above its mouth, there are some sixty families of Indians and about thirteen French, who also plant cocoa trees.

From Tarena, three leagues further up, empties the Titumate, where there are about seven or eight families of Indians, and five or six of

French. From Titumate a league and a half further, we come to the Tinacante, on which there are three families of Indians and one of French.

From Tinacante, five leagues above, is the mouth of the Acanti, the population of which is up the river and is mentioned in the description of Tapisa. This consists of Indians, but upon the sea-shore there are some dozen Frenchmen.

It is not known whether there are cocoa trees. From the Acante, six leagues onward, is the River Pito, on which reside ten families of Indians and two of Frenchmen.

Three leagues from Pito is the River Caret, where some three or four families of Indians reside.

Five leagues beyond Caret we come to Caledonia, where, in front of the place where the Scotch fortified themselves, there is a ravine in which Captain Pancho lives. There must be four families of Indians here. On the principal river of Caledonia, called Aggre, lives Captain Miguel with forty families of Indians, besides some five or six Frenchmen.

Two leagues above Caledonia is the valley of Sardi, where three or four Indian families dwell.

Three leagues above Sardi, we meet with the Navigandi, up which river are fifteen families of Indians. This river is nearly opposite the Isle of Pines, and is of the middle size.

Three leagues from Navigandi is the Pudrugandi, up which are seven or eight Indian families.

Four leagues above the Pudrugandi is the Mosquito River, which has some fifteen Indian families. Two leagues above the Mosquito is the Matunagandi, which must have some ten families of Indians; it is a small river. Two leagues again above the Matunagandi is the River Coco, which must have more than forty Indian families.

One league above the Coco is a small valley which contains, perhaps, three or four families of Indians; its name is not known. Hence a league and a half further up the coast is the River Monos, which has more than fifteen families.

From the mouth of the River Monos, four leagues further up, is the River Concepcion, which has some fifteen Indian families.

Three leagues above Concepcion is the River Playon or the River de las Armas, where there are twenty families of Indians, more or less.

Five leagues above the River Playon is the valley of Marzalagandi, which has some four families of Indians.

From Marzalagandi, five leagues further, is the River Azucar, concerning which it is not known whether it is at present inhabited.

After the River Azucar follows the River Diablo, where there are fifteen families of Indians.

Four leagues above this river is the River Cedro, which must have twenty families of Indians.

Three leagues above the Cedro is the River Cardi, which has a dozen families. This is the ultimate limit of the Indian population on this side of the Point of San Blas and of Mandinga Bay.

This bay is very capacious and is suited for vessels of all classes, but good pilots are necessary on account of its numerous islands and shoals.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS AND REASONS FOR THEIR NOT INCREASING SO RAPIDLY AS WAS EXPECTED, AND THE MEANS BY WHICH ADDITIONS MAY BE MADE TO THE ROYAL REVENUE AND SUBJECTS.

This part of the report refers to a state of things which has passed away, and contains recommendations for the improvement of the Indian

population, which have no present value. It will be interesting, however, to give a list of the various productions of the soil mentioned as sources of wealth. They are cocoa plantations, indigo, cotton, honey, sugars, woods for exportation, balsams, resin, and wax. To these are added tortoise shell, and live and salted turtles.

The Bay of Caledonia is spoken of as the most important on the coast for vessels of large burden. Gold is said to be universal in the rivers and valleys. There is good open grazing country.

This paper also speaks of the mines of Caña and other places, which yielded gold in large quantities until the laborers were driven away by the invasion of Indians from the Choco and of foreigners.

The date affixed to this report is April 10, 1754.

The report ends with a deposition by Captain Juan Raphael de Simancas, interpreter, resident of the town of Cupe, native of the city of Carthagená, who was dispatched to the northern coast, to give an account of the number of French adventurers living on that coast, and of their cocoa plantations, and of the vessels which take in cargoes there. A part of this information is embodied in the preceding translation.

The title of this report given at the end is as follows:

Copy of a report transmitted to his Majesty, in original and duplicate, in obedience to the royal order from Buen Retiro, on the second of September, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-one; in which report I am directed to obtain information concerning the province of Darien and the progress of its missions.

MIGUEL REMON.

PORTO VELO, JULY 29, 1757.

In a note appended to his report, Remon states that the number of Frenchmen and of cocoa plantations had considerably increased during the last three years.

No. 2.

A letter from Darien, praying for the establishment of a fort to protect the Spaniards from the Indians and English combined, dated March, 1774.

SEÑOR: I am desirous that the agriculture of this kingdom should flourish, and that its inhabitants should cultivate the rich lands in which it abounds. These lands are now either abandoned, or possessed by uncivilized Indians, whom it is impossible to bring under subjection, or restrain from acts of violence against those who have ventured to cultivate the lands in their neighborhood.

I have, therefore, meditated upon the view taken in the course of last summer by the Brigadier A. de Arrivaldo, in regard to the construction in the province of Darien of a fort already projected and approved by his Majesty. The site of this fort is on the River Cayman, which discharges itself on the east coast of the Gulf of Darien. This defense would enable us to settle that most fertile district, having so beautiful a climate, where in other times rich crops of cocoa have been gathered. It would also be beneficial in attracting gradually the rebel Indians of that province, now linked with the English, who carry on trade with them and whom they supply with the fish and meat abounding on their coasts. We suffer not only from the want of agriculture in those parts, but also from the freedom with which foreigners trade with the Indians. The garments of the latter are of English manufacture, a fact ascertained by the prisoners taken in the waters of the river Sineé. This would not happen if Cayman were fortified.

God protect your excellency. Santa Fé, March 31, 1774

Brigadier F. JULIAN ARRIAJA.

No. 3.

CASTILLO'S DECLARATION.

Declaration made before the governor, Don Andres de Ariza, by Don Fransisco del Castillo, who is more than seventy years of age, a native of the old village of Pine, in the province of Darien, and an inhabitant of the Indian village called Tichiche.

He was suffered by the Indians to come here, on the 8th day of November, in the year 1784, in order to give information concerning the roads which he has traversed from the coasts of the Mulatas on the north and from the district of Chepo on the south. He gives a minute relation of his mode of proceeding, the same that he has previously given extrajudicially to the governor.

He states that he has frequently passed from Agla, or Caledonia, to the territory of this province, coming direct from Sucubti, which is the easiest and shortest road.

On the same day, November 8, Juan Raphael Simancas appeared before the said governor, who, after stating that he was a native of Carthagena, of Indian parentage, and after relating the various casualties that had happened to him in the course of his long life of seventy-five years, on being interrogated and requested to give an account as an experienced guide of that country, of the route from Caledonia to the southern district of this province, stated that in this district there is a small river called Agla, by the margins of which we can ascend for a distance of a little more than an hour's journey; and then following the mountain course for a space of about four or five hours, we arrive at the sources of the River Sucubti, named Miraflores, which discharges its waters southward; and proceeding down that River Sucubti by boat half a day, or if by land a whole day, we arrive at the principal river of the province, called the Chucunaque, and thence in six hours from Chucunaque we may arrive at Savana.

 No. 4.

Instructions to be observed by the commandant of the new establishment of Puerto Principe, situate south of the Cordillera of the Andes in the province of Darien in order to effect the opening of the new road traversing the mountain chain and securing communication with the establishment of Carolina on the northern sea-coast.

If the governor of the province, Lieutenant Colonel Don Andres de Ariza, should recover from his present sickness, he will be the person to carry out these instructions; otherwise they will be executed by the commandant of Carolina, Don Louis Carrera, captain of the grenadiers of the regiment of the princess, who will employ for the land works the captain in ordinary of engineers Don Juan Ximenes Donoze, and the parties appointed for that purpose by Ariza.

It is of the utmost importance to take advantage of the first opportunity which may offer for the opening of the road that is to be made, in order to connect the establishment of Carolina with that of Principe; therefore I have named the officers and troops of the regiment of the princess, whom I have sent forward, in order that, on this side, the requisite operations may be immediately begun.

I inclose copies of the report of the survey of the line of country which the commandant of the country has effected on the northern side in the Carolina district, from that establishment to the summit of the Cordillera between the two rivers Aglasenicua and Aglatromate, which is the lowest point in the range. At this place a conspicuous landmark ought to be visible from a distance; the commandant will therefore order one to be made, by leaving a solid clump of trees and cutting down the others in the neighborhood. By means of this a direct line may be run from the mouth of the Sucubti to the summit of the Cordillera, there to unite with the road from Carolina. Since the parties in the field must direct their course so as to come out at the head sources of the Agla, and since the landmarks will be established at the spot selected by the commandant of the north coast, with reference to the declivity of the rising ground at that spot, the parties ought to direct their course toward that point.

If they should not see the mark on leaving the mouth of the Sucubti, or should not see it at all, they will take what they may deem to be the direct course for the course of the Agla. If landmarks are seen and reached, the two commandants will decide upon the opening of the two lines of road from Principe to the summit of the Carolina, and Carolina to the same point.

Delineating both of the said lines of road upon the same scale, they will reconcile any irregularity or error which may be found therein, by their own knowledge and experience, and by the necessities of the case.

The two commandants having come to a decision and agreement upon the point, the opening of the road shall be immediately commenced and proceeded with in the manner in which it is to remain. The work is intrusted to the care of both, in order that, should they think it advisable, each one of them may carry into execution the line from said landmark at the summit of the Cordillera to the border of the establishment under his own command; or they may, by uniting forces, execute the work. This last appears to be the most natural way of proceeding and the most advantageous; thus descending from the summit of the Cordillera to Carolina, until they are within reach of provisions, ammunition, and other necessities, thus using the road itself to the summit of the Cordillera for the execution of the other portion from the same point to Principe.

CARTHAGENA April 8, 1786.

No. 5.

Diary kept by the Sergeant Gabriel Morales, leader and commander against the Indians of these mountains, in company with the Sergeants Miguel Antonio Delgado and Miguel Quintana, for the expedition which the Governor Lieutenant Don Andres de Ariza, lieutenant colonel, placed under our care, with a troop of one hundred and fifty foot soldiers.

1786, July 10.—At seven o'clock in the morning we took our departure from the new establishment of Principe, directing our steps toward the River Moreti, which discharges its waters into that of the Chucumaque, and having arrived at Yegunti, we found the River Sabanas that was to be passed much swollen in consequence of the heavy falls of rain that had taken place on that and the previous day, and having waded it with

a great deal of trouble, we came to a halt upon the opposite bank, from whence I dispatched to Principe four men who had fallen sick.

July 11.—The day broke with rain, for which reason we did not set out on our march until after eight o'clock, and we came to a halt about San Matias in consequence of the heavy storm of rain that appeared to be coming on; by reason of the bad weather we spent two days upon a journey of one; we placed our sentinels in advance at the points of the compass as usual, in order to secure ourselves against enemies.

July 12.—Again, because it had been raining throughout the greater part of the night and also during the day, we started rather late at about nine o'clock, and we only reached the resting place of Tigre, because the quebradas were much swollen; we then passed the night, previously placing our sentinels.

July 13.—We set out on our march at six o'clock in the morning, and at one o'clock in the afternoon we heard nine reports of cannon from the direction of Carolina; and we reached the resting place of Guayabel at two; here we made a halt to cook our food and sleep, and posted our sentinels to prevent a surprise by enemies.

July 14.—We commenced our march at six in the morning; the short heavy showers of rain continued, and we only reached the "huts of Remelas" to sleep; we placed our sentinels as usual.

July 15.—Continuing our march at one o'clock in the day, we arrived at the mouth of the Moreti, where our governor in September of last year had made an intrenched encampment, the stockades of which had been destroyed by the enemy, some of them thrown into the river, and the house or palm hut that was there razed and burned; we retired thence to pass that night on the ridge that is situated a swivel gunshot behind that position. In order that the enemies might not hear a rumor of our party, we carefully examined the whole of the surrounding neighborhood, and the only news there received was that eight days before the rebels had cut off a Guinea girl.

July 16.—At six in the morning we passed the River Chucunaque by the ford that is on the side below the encampment; and proceeded upward along the marsh lands of River Moreti as far as the Carmen resting place, which is in an abandoned site of plantain trees, where by the order of our governor we last year left under cover of a hut a flag, a small flask of brandy, a bundle of tobacco, and some small copper pans; the whole as a sign of friendship, because, at that time, he did not know of the revolt at Carolina; we found none of these, the enemy having carried all off.

In this locality we established our ambuscades in order to ascertain if we could surprise any of the rebels, for which this place is advantageous from its having in front a high wall that cannot be scaled.

July 17.—We left this place at about ten o'clock in the day, because the short but heavy showers did not cease and we continued our route along the River Moreti, up the stream, which had become much swollen; we passed thirteen small quebradas, which discharge their waters into this river, and a small plantation of plantain trees, apparently a recent one of about six months' standing; and beyond it, but further up the stream, we came to a halt at a point that is at the skirt of a mountain which the Chocoe Indians went to examine, but where they found no ascent.

July 18.—We took our departure from that place, (heavy showers of rain still continuing, which inconvenienced us very considerably,) and followed up the course of the River Moreti in order to ascertain if there were any enemies on it. We passed three craggy hills with their que-

bradas, and upon proceeding down the last one we met with another quebrada where there was a hut decayed by age, having stood there more than three years. Upon proceeding we met with a large field of stubble, where there were also some old earthen pots.

We continued our route further, and upon a small plot of rising ground we found another stubble field, and descending to the margin of the river we reached a glade (valley) or old bed of a river where we came to a halt, posting double sentinels because we considered ourselves in the midst of the enemy.

July 19.—We pushed out into the same neighborhood various ambuscades and stations upon the river, which from thence upward was not navigable for small boats, nor even up to that point, save with great trouble. Several spies were sent out to see if any report or trace of the enemy could be obtained, but without finding any sign of them. There was only a plantation of plantain trees, from which the enemy a few days before had gathered the fruit, and our people found but little left. We did not proceed further toward the sources of the stream, because its marshy lands would not allow of our passing them; nor did we cross the river in consequence of the numerous large rocks across its bed; by this we deemed ourselves to be in the mountain chain.

July 20.—We determined upon crossing over almost at the foot of the chain toward the river Sucubti. We passed three hills and the quebradas and many agares or American aloes. We found a track by which the enemies ascend, which the Sergeant Gabriel Morales, Miguel Quintana, and ten men followed, directing their steps toward some high hills. At about one o'clock in the afternoon they returned, and continuing our march we reached a quebrada that discharges its waters into the river Sucubti, and we supposed it the quebrada of Yanuti. Upon it there was a stubble field of the previous year, and a large jar that might contain about two hundred ears of maize, two good earthen pots, and a pirogue (canoe) about half finished but abandoned. We then came to a halt in order to pass the night, having first taken the precaution to beat the brush, because we inferred that the rebels might live in the neighborhood.

July 21.—By observing silence and by other precautions that were requisite, deeming ourselves in the midst of the enemy and that we should catch them by proceeding down the stream, we continued with much caution along the bank of the quebrada, which it was ascertained was navigated by the enemy, as the channel was clear, and had at intervals landing places, poles, and lines, to which they moored their pirogues, (canoes.)

We found upon the banks of the quebrada many plantations of aguave, and in one of them a clear road by which they had drawn up a small canoe. Proceeding further on, the Sergeant Gabriel ascended a tree, and thence descried the River of Sucubti, toward which we directed our steps, now ascending one hill and then skirting another, at the foot of which last flowed the river, having come upon it two turns further down than the quebrada, which, as I have stated, seemed to us to be that of Yanuti. On it we did not meet with any further signs of its being inhabited than those already mentioned. The distance traveled from the River Moreti to that of Sucubti is scarcely half a day's journey. We came to a halt that day opposite to a high wall that was on the other side of the river. We took, however, the requisite precautions in order not to be surprised in consequence of our own exposure; and, also, in order not to be heard, so that we might surprise them.

July 22.—We took our departure from the said resting place, with scouts thrown forward, in order not to come unexpectedly upon the enemy; not a vestige of them was found in that vicinity. We directed our steps toward the mouth of the Sucubti, where Don Luis Carrua had his encampment; passing two large mountains and several small ones on both sides of the river, and at the lower part of these we came up a very large quebrada which flowed in the direction of the Moreti. Entering it we came to a harbor and found in it a clear passage with six lines where pirogues had been moored; on the other side was a clear pathway which when followed leads in the direction of the River Chncunaque, serving as a roundabout way for the enemy to avoid the winding of the Sucubti.

The quebrada is not navigable and it appears that the enemy only go there to secrete their canoes. We left this road because we deemed it fruitless to follow it, and continuing our journey down the Sucubti, we fell in with a very large assemblage of huts, the greater part of which had been carried away by a freshet in the river. We then came to a halt in order to pass the night, throwing forward sentinels as usual.

July 23.—We left our resting place, still annoyed by the heavy showers of rain, and journeying down the river along the banks of the Sucubti, we came to a tree of "Lorono or Campano," fit for a large canoe, eight yards in circumference and twenty-two in length. Immediately afterward we reached the large plantain plantations of the enemy, which were surrounded by the troops, some of them having penetrated into the center to seek the enemy, who, if they fled, would fall into our hands.

Nothing was, however, found, but it was ascertained that the enemy had been in the plantation to gather fruit about six or eight days previous. In consequence of this, an order was given that the whole troop, leaving the requisite advanced guards, should gather all that was needful for themselves, and leave none for the enemy. We left this place and at a short distance therefrom we found the commencement of the road that was being opened in the month of April, in order that the columns under the command of Don Luis Carrua might pass. His abandoned encampment was at the distance of about one league; here we came to a halt and encamped, taking the necessary precaution also, that in descending the mountain pass, we explored the whole territory of the enemy. We inferred that they have either abandoned the district and gone to the other rivers, or have secreted themselves all at once in the craggy and unknown fortresses of the mountain ridge.

July 24.—We took our departure from the line of that road and arriving in sight of the stronghold where Don Luis encamped, we fell in with the skull of a human being stuck upon the point of a wild cane. It was, without doubt, some unfortunate captive from the north, because from the south we have not fallen in with any human being, either alive or dead. We took away the skull and buried it in another place. We passed over to the island where the stronghold had been made, and we found the huts burned down and the greater part of the stockade destroyed. The three grindstones that we there buried, the enemy had dug and carried away. We proceeded on by the royal road opened as far as Principe, and at a quarter of a league distant therefrom, we encamped to pass the night, taking the requisite precautions.

July 25.—At twelve o'clock in the day we entered Principe, and presented ourselves to our governor, delivering to him this diary, and informing him verbally that all the persons attached to the expedition had not returned in perfect health in consequence of the terribly unfavorable weather which they had had unceasingly encountered, there not

having been one fine day. All had used their best endeavors to fall in with the enemy, and had returned dissatisfied and not having succeeded.

GABRIEL MORALES.

[At the request of the Sergeant Miguel Antonio Delgrado, and Miguel Quintana.]

PUERTO DEL PRINCIPE.

No 6..

Extract from an old document without signature, dated 1787.

By decree of the 24th January, his excellency ordered that, in order to effect the passage of our troops from the south to the north, a road should be opened from Principe to the mouth of the River Sucubti, upon the Chucunaque, and to erect a fort upon the hill called Betanzos, which is situated at an equal distance from each port. Furthermore, that two small villages with some defenses should be established between Principe and the fort, and between the latter and the Chucunaque, placing these garrisons in such a manner that they might reciprocally defend one another, and be provided with provisions.

The general-in-chief of Panama communicated this decree to Don José Matos, who is acting as governor *pro tempore* in Darien and who will be commander-in-chief of the expedition from Principe to Carolina by way of Chucunaque; ordering that the engineer Don Juan Donoso accompany him in order to superintend the works. Matos and Donoso represent to the general commandant-in-chief that the road will be much more advantageous if opened from Yavisa, the capital of Darien, to the aforesaid Sucubti, upon the grounds that the distance is less, the waters, the climate, and the situation better, the population acclimated, and that there is abundance of maize, plantains, yuca, and Adam's needles for provisions.

These advantages, it is said, are not to be met with in Principe, while the country leading to Sucubti is smooth and the ground tolerably level.

The commandant-in-chief transmits this representation to the Governor Ariza, now sick at Panama, for his information and government. Ariza firmly denies the pretended advantages of the road from Yavisa on all grounds; he prefers that from Principe; though from his being sick, he does not give his reasons.

No. 7.

Don Andres de Ariza to Domas y Valle.

I have just received your honor's esteemed letter, dated this day, in which you are pleased to inclose to me two letters, one the statement made by the lieutenant governor's aide, Don Josef de Matos, dated 24th April, soliciting, for satisfactory reasons to himself, change of situation of the new establishment from Principe to the remote port of Yavisa; the other from the engineer, Don Juan Donoso, dated yesterday, agreeing with Matos, but advancing professional reasons (as an engineer) more absurd than those of Matos. These letters show an unfortunate desire in the men of the present day, when intrusted with a slight commission, to consider themselves the Apollos of science, and set aside plans well

matured. Your honor is pleased to inform me that in the brief space of time between to-day and to-morrow, I am to reply to the particulars of these two statements, in order that they may be ready for transmission to his excellency the viceroy, who will also be orally informed of everything in order to make up his final decision. As your honor saw me yesterday, and you well know that I had been confined to my bed for more than four months, being completely prostrated, so that my life has been preserved by drinks only, it is impossible for me to comply with this request. The nature of the evidence in this case is such, that in order to expose the fallacies of the extraordinary propositions from these parties, and to satisfy all persons, my reply must be very diffuse. And further, what his excellency was pleased to command in his previous communication of March 21 has been ordered and approved by the King, and it cannot be altered without mature consideration after the survey has been made.

If upon the margin of the Chucunaque, a little above or a little below the mouth of the Sucubti, there should be some firm ground on this side, where the danger of the overflow may be avoided, and which may be nearer to Betanzos, (for I am certain there is some a little higher up,) neither Donoso nor any other tyro schemer ought to be listened to; the desire of these people is merely to gain reputation even at the expense of arrangements made with prudence and experience. I expect from the known justice of your honor that my request made yesterday in the presence of Donoso, relative to the verbal conference that we had together, may be forwarded to his excellency for his superior consideration. In this conference throughout Donoso was convicted by his own arguments. I say this apart from the overflow, which is met before reaching the Chucunaque, and of which I made mention of the 14th and 18th ultimo; although this defect may be remedied if good ground is found. There only remains the doubt whether the water of the Principe is of good quality and of sufficient quantity; but in order to clear up this doubt I requested that your honor would order a couple of jars full of the water which flows not from the valleys of that district, but from the high springs entering into them, which water does not act on soap like that of the valleys when it is brackish; I also request your honor (as I did in Donoso's presence) to be pleased to inform his excellency beforehand that I offer to prove by unexceptionable witnesses how speciously fallacious were the statements of these parties, read by your honor in my presence and Donoso's. I make this offer in order that his excellency may not incautiously be misled by them.

God protect your excellency many years. Panama, May 9, 1787.
ANDRES DE ARIZA.

Señor Don JOSE DOMAS Y VALLE.

No. 8.

Josef de Matos to Domas y Valle.

SIR: Notwithstanding what I have explained to you under this day's date, in my official letters in reply to the orders of your honor, considering the obligation that I am placed under to lay before you whatever may best contribute to the service of his Majesty, and in pursuance of my duty as second in command to the governor, Don Andres de Ariza, under the appointment of the viceroy, and now first in command in

consequence of the sickness of the said governor, it appears that I am in duty bound to make the following representations to your honor:

First, the support of any population whatsoever not being possible at this station, in consequence of its water and climate, in order to succor by land the new establishment that his excellency may determine to found upon the River Chucunaque, or upon others that discharge themselves into it, to facilitate and to secure the passage to Carolina, (which passage can only be made during two months of the year, part of January, all of February, and part of March,) it is sufficient that this post remain a station such as Bocachica or Seteganti. I do not lose sight of the fact that from this station a road might be re-opened direct to the westward, which would touch upon some of the stations of Chimasi, Chepo, or Terable; and, moreover, that the rivers Bayano, Este, Savanas, and Chucunaque, being formerly connected together at their sources, if, in time, a village could be established between their river heads, a road might be opened by land from hence to the village. For all this, I consider that the assistance of the fortress already mentioned would be sufficient.

In the second place, as the fort of Yavisa is situated at almost the same distance from Bocachica as from this station, and villages are to be established (in conformity with the orders of the viceroy) upon the rising ground of Betanzos, close to the mouth of the river Sucubti, upon the Chucunaque; it is evident that the journey from Yavisa to the mouth of the Sucubti can be made in summer in four days by water in common-sized pirogues, which is two days more than from this station by land. But in winter there are insurmountable difficulties to the undertaking of this journey. Thence it is, señor commandant-in-chief, that I could wish that the road which is to be opened to the establishment should be by way of Yavisa and the River Chucunaque, taking advantage of the mouth of the River Fugesa and one of the little villages which his excellency also mentioned; the other road being by way of one of the rivers Fupisa, or Fubuganti, the passage of the Indians from the northward by the river Sueti. Passing across these and the Fugesa, they descend to Yavisa in order to commit their hostilities, bold enough to go even as far as that establishment, (town.)

The advantages that would accrue in this case are manifest; the waters and climate at Yavisa are good; the plantains, which are the bread of the country, are close at hand, and the resources and assistance of Panama are more easy of access in consequence of the frequent visits of the canoes that come up the river, even as far as Real, in order to cut plantains. To establish the point of junction, there is no expense to be incurred at Yavisa, inasmuch as it contains a good stronghold, (a moated house,) with its warehouses; and if it should be found necessary to have barracks, (soldiers' quarters,) the troops themselves could construct them. They are able, at present, to obtain assistance from the villages of Penogeina, Molineca, Real, and Tichichi, by way of the river and also by land. Consequently they will be better protected against the incursions of the enemy; a better harbor cannot be wished for; and finally desertion by the soldiers will be rendered more difficult. But at this establishment of Principe, boats being seriously impeded by the rocks, no persons are tempted to come to it even with the exorbitant profit of one hundred per cent. on what they might bring. The warehouses, quarters for the soldiers, church and other buildings cannot stand longer than one year; for which reason, at present, they require to be built afresh, as has been the case with the church and one of the soldiers' quarters. This is caused partly by the quality of the material, but

chiefly by the soft character of the soil, which in the summer opens in large crevices, while in winter it is saturated with water, becoming peat-like; so that altogether there is never any firm holding ground for the main props of the buildings.

Finally, I am persuaded that in order to form the road to the north via this place, or by way of Yavisa, there will be one-third less expense incurred without taking into consideration the advantages of having the soldiers contented and free from epidemic complaints. Nevertheless the Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan Donoso, who proceeds to your station and has surveyed all these localities, will be able to inform your honor minutely on all the points you may desire, if you should deem it expedient to communicate the same to his excellency the viceroy, either in writing or in person.

God protect your honor many years. Principe of Darien, April 24, 1787.

I am your honor's most obedient and devoted servant,
Señor Don JOSEF DE MATOS.

Señor Don JOSÉ DOMAS Y VALLE,
Señor Governor and Commandant-in-chief.

No. 9.

Domas y Valle to Ariza.

I transmit to you a copy of the two letters which the engineer in ordinary, Don Juan Donoso, and the governor *pro tempore* of Darien, Don José de Matos, have sent to me in reply to the order of his excellency, which I had transmitted to them, relative to the new establishment to be formed at the locality of Betanzos, and some other small one between this and Principe, of the nature of a hamlet or village, in order that, agreeably with yesterday's discussion, the plan of execution may to-day be put in writing, and that the viceroy may consider and decide on what shall be satisfactory. For this purpose I intend to remit to him by the post of to-morrow, if possible, a copy of this dispatch, which you will return to me with your opinion.

God protect you for many years. Panama, May 9, 1787.

JOSÉ DOMAS Y VALLE.

Señor Don ANDRES DE ARIZA.

No 10.

Extract from Garcia Villaba's report on the Isthmus of Darien, taken from the Bogota archives, dated September 17, 1787. Caña mine.

The town or village of Santa Maria is distant three days' journey, by a bad road, from the village of Caña. It is situated in virgin land, in a fertile plain of great extent, fit for a large population. At present, the population consists of eight families of very wretched negroes and Indians, who maintain themselves merely by the game on the plains and by some gold which they obtain by washing the earth. It has a stronghold of planks and tiles, with four swivel guns, one sergeant,

and twenty soldiers for its defence, some of whom are married. This village was very populous and was well known for its rich mines, named "Espiritu Santo," which were near the mountains of the same name. They were abandoned because the miners had not sufficient funds to put them in profitable working order, and also, because the rebel Indians, accompanied by the foreigners who were in the neighborhood, in the Gulf of Darien on the north, made assaults upon them. It would be very advantageous to the Crown and the province if the works in the mines were undertaken on the King's account, for they produce gold in such abundance and of such superior quality that it is commonly called the Potosi of this valuable metal. By the "fifths" alone they would be sufficient to maintain the province of Panama, as was proved when they were worked, and when the royal dues were estimated annually at one hundred thousand castrillions (three dollars and three cents each) of gold.

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YPALISA. *

No. 11.

Milla's first expedition.

SEÑOR COMMANDANT-IN-CHIEF: I communicate to you, sir, the discovery and observations that I have made upon the excursion with Captain Urruchurchu.

On Wednesday, the 16th, at half past one in the afternoon, we departed from this establishment by the river Aglomate, and following the track or pathway of the Indians, we proceeded along the foot of a mountain which the Indians denominated "Montana Grande," (Big Mountain,) by which name they distinguish it from the others, in consequence of its great height. At six in the evening we arrived at a hut which acts as a hostlery for the traders, where we slept. To this house or hut the distance is about three leagues, a little more or less, to traverse which we pass the said river forty-five times, with the water about half thigh deep. On the border of the river there are three houses where the Indians reside, and in all three there were not more than eight or ten of those who every day carry on traffic with this establishment. On Thursday at daybreak we took the second turning, ascending the mountain which has a sloping ascent of about three quarters of a league, from the summit of which the glimmer of this establishment may be descried, and following the pathway that the Indians use, which has a descent moderate and with various breaks and declivities, of about one league more or less, we find a pathway which turns off to the left to Sueti or Chueti. Shortly afterward you meet with the River Forte, and at a short distance thence the large river of Sucubti, into which the following and already mentioned rivers, Forte, Algancia, and Chueti discharge themselves. From the foot of the mountain these rivers meet, we proceeded downwards by the river Sucubti with the water knee and waist deep. This river shows that it contains large quantities of (matrix,) "madre;" in times of much rain it would have a strong current, by reason of the great fall, and must be very difficult to navigate from its being so full of eddies. Even with the little water it now contains it is requisite to speak very loud in order for us to hear one another. The Indians traverse this river at all times in their "cayucos" by their great dexterity in stemming the currents and avoiding the rocks; when they find themselves in dif-

ficulty, suddenly they jump into the water and bear the cayuco out of the danger upon their shoulders, even when it is loaded with cargo; it has happened while I was there.

Proceeding down this river the first house belonging to them is met with on the right hand, and about a quarter of a league, a little more or less, another, and at about the like distance on the left another, and continuing up same river we reached a house where Captain Urruchurchu and his companions lodged us; I observed that it contained three women, namely, the mother of the captain and the wives of his brothers; five boys, and three men. These houses or species of huts are from ten to twelve yards long, and six yards wide, with "barbacoas" placed under the roof, where the Indians sleep, and below, the women, each in her hammock. There was no other furniture in there except a few drinking cups, the most of them broken, two descriptions of lances, many bows, arrows, and the kitchen utensils suited to their wants. At about half the way the captain proceeded in advance, stating that he was going to see if there was anything new going on among the Indians, and in case there should be, he would come and meet us in order that we might retrace our steps. He left me alone with the other Indians who accompanied me, with whom I continued the route the whole of Thursday the 17th, until my arrival at the before mentioned house, where I remained the whole of that night and the Friday following. On this day, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, Urruchurchu made his appearance with his wife, his son, and six Indians, telling me that those two lads were good friends, and that they had come to see us.

Upon my inquiring of him why he had not taken me to the house where he resided, he replied that I was tired and foot-sore, and that his house was very far off, and that the road that we had come was much better. Be this as it may, I noticed that both his sons and his wife, when he sent them for anything to the house, went and returned in less than one hour; finding that there was some repugnance to my going there I did not wish to put them out of their way.

At the back of the house is a very high hill, but not of great extent, very picturesque and pleasing. The Indians told me that on it the devil resided, and on that account I could not go there, although it was so near.

Upon asking Urruchurchu to what place the river Sucubti flowed, by which we had traveled, he informed me that it flowed as far as the river Santa Maria, and that it led to the establishment of Santa Maria Fecheche, and other villages where Don Andres de Ariza had been; that he formerly went there to traffic, but that Don Andre was not upon friendly terms with them, and that on that account he had ceased to do so.

Upon inquiring of him what the distance might be, he replied that it was the same as to Carolina; but he contradicted himself another day, telling me that it was an eight days' journey down the river and ten days' up.

On the Saturday, early in the morning, we started on our return to this establishment, there being in company with me three Indian women, six lads, and eleven Indians, who voluntarily wished to come. All these, as they perceived that I had my shoes and boots worn out, and that I was somewhat foot-sore, they kindly persuaded me to go on board one of their cayucos, in which I came up the river about two leagues, as far as the water would allow. I did not notice in all the distance that I traveled any mountains of any importance, with the exception of the two already mentioned, and those were not densely wooded as we had believed them to be, for they are covered with large trees high and tufted, and among them some very small ones clear of branches, so that it appears to me with great

facility a road might be made so as to travel by it on horseback. It is, in the first place, as I have already stated, three leagues from this establishment to the aforesaid skirt of the mountains called "Montana Grande," (Big Mountain.) Without the construction of a road one may travel the distance on horseback, cutting away any impediment that might cross the route.

This mountain, that the Indians consider so very large, has not one difficult pass, with the exception of a ravine at the commencement, which four men with spades could level in less than one hour, and in the middle of the ascent there is a tree that the winds have uprooted, the trunk of which is very large and lies athwart the road. The trouble of cutting at the tree may be avoided by using a pathway on one side or the other of the road, which may be extended to any desirable width. Much worse paths are traversed on horseback on the road from Aonda to Santa Fé de Bogota. On the journey up this mountain there is one defile which is one yard in breadth on the one side, and on the other of which has ——— to ——— (here the manuscript is unintelligible.) There is another bad pass beyond this place; descending the river Footi is met with; it appears to me there will be no difficulty, beyond which, in forming the road, carrying it not by way of the river Sucubti nor along its bank, but to the left, where, indeed, there are some fissures, which, however, are of little moment. I inquired of Captain Urruchurchu if there was much high ground further on, and he informed me that there was not, that we had passed the worst.

What related to your excellency is the sum of my observation. If, hereafter, anything should occur to me worthy of your attention I will communicate the same to your honor.

God protect your honor for many years.

MAN'L MILLA, *Sta. Ma.*

CAROLINA, *January 27, 1788.*

No. 12.

FERSEN'S JOURNAL ACROSS THE CORDILLERA.

Journal of the occurrences that have taken place up to this date in the matter of the opening of the road that is to traverse the isthmus from north to south.

February 16.—I arrived in the Bay of Carolina at half past 8 o'clock at night.

February 17.—I remained the whole of that day on the island, in consequence of the arrival there of the chief cazique, Don Bernardo, the captain, William Haler, and Urrichurchu, who, after leaving his family on the mainland, returned to the island; Captain Hooper arrived also; we passed the day together, and during the conversation, I noticed frequent smiles passing between the chiefs. I did not manifest any signs that I understood them on that occasion, paying them every respect, and acting with prudent dissimulation.

February 18.—In the morning of this day I proceeded to the mainland, and, conferring with my predecessor relative to the ill humor that I had noted between the caziques, at the same time bearing in mind what the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, Captain Dubernay, and the interpreters had related, hearing what each of them had to say separately, I

found that the grudges that had been perceived still to exist between these caziques were but too true. For this reason I joined the three caziques, and, in the presence of my predecessor, Don Antonio Velasquez, of the adjutant, Milla, and Captain Dubernay, we entered into a discussion upon the subject of the new road. The cazique in chief, Don Bernardo, and Captain William Haler replied that they were willing, and that they had come for the express purpose. Captain Urruchurchu, of Sucubti, declared the same, but added that he alone was sufficient to open the new route; that the reason of his ill humor proceeds from the circumstance that the other two caziques claim to assist at the operation of the road, (a thing that those of his tribe would not consent to, and would resist by force of arms;) and that it is not in his power to remedy it; that the commission in all its details had been intrusted to him only.

The chief caziques, Don Bernardo and Captain William Haler, replied, "the allegations of Urruchurchu were frivolous pretexts in order to hide his captious objections; that he had been to Carthagena merely to obtain rewards, and to deceive his excellency; that, at all events, they had offered their services for the effecting of the road; that it was not reasonable that they should be deprived of rendering service, inasmuch as they had all promised it conjointly when the pacification was discussed at Turbacco."

Having heard these arguments from both parties, I endeavored to make them understand how very advisable it was that they should act in unison, and should give proof of their good intentions. Captain Urruchurchu replied that he could not determine anything until he goes to consult with those of his tribe, without whose authority he could not act; that he will set out immediately for Sucubti, and return within six days with the reply in time to accompany the adjutant, Milla, who wishes to convey the packet of letters to his excellency, at Puerto Principe; that then the final decision will be made relative to the opening of the road, and it shall be determined whether or not the other caziques should join in this operation; that if, during these six days, any further steps are taken, he cannot be answerable for the consequences. The caziques, Don Bernardo and Captain Haler, after much altercation, at last declared that they acquiesced in this conclusion. In consequence of this, on the morning of this same day, the 18th, Captain Urruchurchu took his departure for Sucubti.

February 21.—On the morning of this day the brother of Urruchurchu presented himself before me with two lads. He states that his brother remained in this neighborhood and could not proceed to the mountain in consequence of having hurt one of his feet, but the other Indian chiefs declare that this is an excuse only, the truth being that he is commissioned by Urruchurchu and others to observe whether they were working at the road in contravention of the agreement entered into on the preceding day. At nightfall on this same day the chief cazique, Don Bernardo, and Captain Haler informed me that one of their confidential agents had just returned from the route to Sucubti, stating that he had encountered some Indians of the tribe of Urruchurchu, from whose conversation he inferred that they were there as spies.

February 22.—The adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, commissioned by me to watch the proceedings and listen to the conversation of the brother of Urruchurchu, who comes every day to the fort, gave to me the dispatch of which I annex a copy.

N. S.—On this same day Captain Hooper, with whom he had consulted concerning Urruchurchu, in confirmation of the communications

that he had made to me verbally, gave to me a written document in English, a copy of the translation of which I annex, and it is No. 2.

February 23.—In the morning of this day the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, informed me that the brother of Urruchurchu had just told him that, notwithstanding that he (Urruchurchu) had been attacked by fever immediately on leaving this place for Sucubti; nevertheless, in order to fulfill what he had proposed, he is already on the return, visiting the villages in the mountain as far as Chueta in order to come to an arrangement with his tribes relative to the question of the road; the other caziques state that he will not come. On this same day the other caziques, Don Bernardo and Captain Haler, inform me that the cazique of Correto may be expected every day. Don Bernardo also adds that Captain Jack, of Gandi, has not yet been able to come because he is ill of fever, and because he has gone to see his *children*, but that he will be here within a short time.

February 24.—In the morning of this day an Indian of Sereti, named Manuel de la Cruz Quintana, enrolled years ago with the Indians of Gandi, and at the present time with the chief, Bernardo, whom, in consequence of his good disposition, I retain in the capacity of a spy, informed me that he knows that Urruchurchu has not used any diligence whatever in the matter of the treaty; that he is pretending to be unwell; and that he has no intention of returning. The truth is, that the six days' time that Urruchurchu demanded expired yesterday, the 23d; and that as yet he has not made his appearance, though his brother assured me this morning he would be here at 3 o'clock to-day.

February 25.—In the morning of this day Urruchurchu's brother came to the fort, stating that the reason for Urruchurchu's not having yet made his appearance was his illness of fever, which did not permit him to leave the house; in the evening Urruchurchu arrived on his return from Sucubti with the reply from the Indians of his tribe. This reply is in substance the same with that stated by him before his departure; that is to say, that by no means would the people of the mountains consent to the other chiefs or their people entering their territories or interfering in any way in the matter of the road; and this is the answer of all, which answer it is out of his power to change; that as for the rest they are ready, he and his, to fulfill all that he had offered to his excellency; that he comes to accompany the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, who is to convey the packet of letters to Puerto Principe, and will return with him; and that on his return a beginning of the opening of the road shall immediately be made.

Having heard these statements, and remembering Urruchurchu's previous reasons pro and con, it appeared to me advisable to take advantage of his favorable disposition. I therefore spoke to the caziques, Don Bernardo and Captain William Haler, telling them that the true way to render an effective service to the King and carry out the pacific intentions of his excellency lay in their contributing to the object in view; that they were fully aware of the obstinacy with which Urruchurchu and his people were opposed to any strangers interfering in the matter of the road; that it appears that there was some good reason existing in his mind for it; and that notwithstanding the surmises and accusations which they had made to me as to Urruchurchu's good faith, his consistent arguments and his conduct this day would not justify my giving him offense; and, further, that such conduct on my part might lead to a rupture of the present friendly relations, which would interfere with the reasonable designs of his excellency.

In consequence of these statements I dissolve my engagement with

them; at the same time returning thanks in his excellency's name. I promised them the same gratuity as they would have received had they assisted me in the work; telling them that I will explain the matter to his excellency, the viceroy, who will be gratified with this result, which conforms to his own views. I further informed them that on being remunerated they could retire to their villages, with the full assurance that in case Urruchurchu failed in what he has offered, they should be recalled to carry on the work conjointly with us.

This explanation judiciously made had the desired effect upon the caziques, Don Bernardo and Captain William Haler; for, after consulting together, they replied that they were satisfied, and that it was a sufficient inducement, that I told them it would gratify his excellency, whom they were anxious to convince of their fidelity. Thus happily ended this day's business.

February 26.—In consequence of what transpired on the preceding day, the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, is making his necessary preparations to start on the morrow, as directed, for Puerto Principe; the caziques, also, General Don Bernardo and Captain William Hales, are preparing to return to their villages, appearing well satisfied with the arrangement.

February 27.—Cazique General Don Bernardo and Captain William Hales, the lieutenant of Captain Jack, and all the Indian foot soldiers, have embarked to return to their villages, reiterating their good intentions and declaring their willingness and that of their tribes along the coast, to lend their assistance in the King's service; the cacique of Careto, styling himself Chevalier Paluti, is about to depart, having presented himself on my arrival tendering his services in anything that we might wish to employ him. On the same day the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, who conveys the packet of letters on the service of the King, has taken his departure hence for Puerto Principe, by the new road, and he is to return here by the same route. Of this I give an account in a separate official letter. I have dismissed all the caciques well contented, including Captain Urruchurchu of Sucubti, who has promised to undertake whatever he has agreed to.

FRANCISCO DE FERSEN.

CAROLINA OF DARIEN, *February 27, 1788.*

The commandant general of the establishments of the (Isthmus) Darien informs your excellency of the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, having set out this day on his journey, to proceed hence to Puerto Principe by way of the new road, accompanied by Captain Urruchurchu of Sucubti.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Agreeably to the superior orders of your excellency, the adjutant of this fort, Don Manuel Milla, departs this day "Dia de la Senora," with the packet of letters upon royal service, and accompanied by Captain Urruchurchu of Sucubti.

This officer proceeds by way of the new route, which traverses the Isthmus from the north to south hence to Puerto Principe. He is commissioned to treat with all the tribes of that mountain ridge and to reiterate to them the amicable intentions of your excellency as you have instructed me, which duty I am fully persuaded he will perform to the satisfaction of your excellency. For this reason it is with the greatest satisfaction that I communicate to your excellency this important intelligence, begging that you will accept my sincere congratulations at so favorable a commencement, not doubting that its termination will be equally favorable.

God protect your excellency (*muchos annos*) many years. Carolina, February 27.

Most excellent sir,

FRANCISCO DE FERSEN.

Most Excellent Señor Viceroy,

Don ANTONIO CABALLERO Y GORGORA.

No. 13.

Don Andres de Ariza to Don Antonio Caballero y Gorgora.

The governor of Darien communicated to your excellency that the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, has taken his departure for Carolina, with Captain Suspani.

MOST EXCELLENT AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR: By way of Panama, by post, I transmitted to your excellency, on the 7th of the current month, the information of my having had the satisfaction to receive the first correspondence by way of this new isthmus. It was that of your much esteemed favor of the 7th February, the bearer of which was the adjutant of Carolina, Don Manuel de Milla, convoyed by Captain Suspani, two Indians, his relations, and the linguist, Pio.

The said travelers had to pass very carefully and cautiously through some districts of Atchuanati, more especially upon their arrival at the mouth of the Sucubti, where they observed that the Chucunas and Moretes have not separated. The cause of this, according to Suspani, is that they have not entered into any agreement with your excellency; Milla himself will more clearly and specifically explain this. These rebel Indians are those who obstinately refuse to grant us a passage through that district, and are the same with those who endeavored to cut off the retreat of and to surround the thirty men whom I dispatched on the 17th of January, of which I gave your excellency advice on the 26th of the same month. I was under the impression that these enemies were partisans of Captain Suspani; but I have been much rejoiced not only at having this false impression removed, but of having the great satisfaction to treat amicably with Suspani himself. By the friendly treatment which I have shown him, I flatter myself that I have convinced him of our good faith, friendly intentions, and complete reconciliation. God grant it may be so. To-day the travelers take their departure hence by water, taking the widely-extended detour of the river Chucunaque to reach the Fubganti, avoiding the road by which they have arrived here, so as not to fall into any ambushade of the rebel Indians, which is feared by Captain Suspani.

The expressions that I have heard from him are, as has already been stated, the most sincere and generous towards us that could possibly be desired. May the God of armies continue to us his helping hand.

God protect your excellency for many years. Principe of Darien, the 10th of March, 1788.

Most excellent and most illustrious,

Señor ANDRES DE ARIZA.

The most Excellent and Illustrious

Señor Don ANTONIO CABALLERO Y GORGORA.

P. S.—As Suspani and his partisans remain in amity with us, there is nothing to fear relative to the others, for, as they live upon a level country and without any aloe plantations on this side of the Chucunaque, they may early be invaded and made to retreat or to succumb.

Manuel Garcia y Villalba to Domas y Valle.

HONORED SIR: I have already communicated to you that Captain Suspani with two other Indians, a negro interpreter of Carolina, and a cadet of the establishment of Carthagena, named Don Manuel de Milla, adjutant to the commandant of that place, Señor Fersen, having left Carolina on the second of the current month, made their appearance at this establishment on the seventh, in order to negotiate a peace with this government.

I have now to state that, after having been treated as courteously as possible, they set out on their return by way of the river Chucunaque, in order to proceed by its waters as far as the mouth of the river Chueti, which empties into the Fuganti. Here they expected to find friendly Indians in the villages waiting to receive them and convey them in safety as far as Carolina. The change in the mode of their return by following this new route is a caution suggested by the cunning of Captain Suspani in order to avoid the Chucunas. These Indians are opposed to granting a free passage to Sucubti.

An encounter with them would be unavoidable on the small island in the said river where they have encamped to obstruct the passage. The Chucunas are opposed to the passage by the Chucunaque, because, as they say, the chiefs of the other villages did not give them notice when they went to Carthagena that they also might go with them to negotiate a peace; but Captain Suspani, who is actually the owner of the territories which secure the freedom of the isthmus from one establishment to the other, deems this obstacle but slight, and thinks it easy to secure that the Indians of the rivers Sucubti, Chueti, and Fubiganti act in good faith. Although there should be no other way, we have at all events secured by this medium the communication from north to south.

Captain Suspani, I assure your honor, has surprised me by his display of the greatest capacity, foresight, and prudence on the present occasion. He acts with the greatest fidelity; he promised to return to this establishment after two months have elapsed with his wife; and as soon as he shall have arrived at the mouth of the Chueti, to dispatch the pirogues with the people who may be in company with him, and his brother Ignacio. He also promised faithfully to send Indians with the correspondence as soon as he shall arrive at Carolina, and to remain faithful and endeavor to conciliate the Chucunas and Moretis. Suspani, as he is much disliked by the inhabitants of the villages in the north and in the south, is bound to take great pains to surpass all in his offers. It is true that they are conditional, for although he allows the road to be opened through his territories, he sets certain limits; as, for example, that it be narrow, and that it is not to be traversed by troops, nor by a greater number of men than four or six at a time. He is fearful lest we should surprise and compel him to conform to our usages and customs; for they all like liberty to which they are accustomed. I have sufficient reasons for apprehending that as soon as the opening of said road is commenced by us, they will oppose it, and, therefore, disagreements must arise. Hence war, which will cost us some bloodshed, will arise.

I still insist upon my plan, and for the following reasons: It will be the means of depriving them of communication on the north with the English; necessarily, in time, they must be reduced to accept our terms and compelled to sue for peace, for hatchets, knives, &c. They prove this by their mutual dissensions, such as took place at the meeting on the

Sucubti between the "Arqui-Chucunas" and Suspani on his journey to this place. An attempt to subdue this rebellious and indomitable people as a means of keeping open the road will drive them into the mountain fastnesses, from which we shall find it impossible to dislodge them.

For these reasons it is better to desist from the present undertaking, and, until they are better rooted in our friendship, use every means to deprive them of the supplies which they procure from the English through the ports of the north. This, sir, in my opinion, is the most advisable plan to be adopted, and I offer this to convince any person of the contrary opinion. Your honor will do me the favor to accept this opinion as arising from the anxious wish I have, as a good and loyal subject, that matters may be conducted in the best manner.

God protect your honor many years. Principe, Darien, March 10, 1788.

MANUEL GARCIA VILLALBA,
Senior Commander-in-chief.

P. S.—Suspani has not taken with him the guides from Carolina, being fearful of the other Indians, as he has not yet arranged with them upon this subject.

M. GARCIA VILLALBA.

No. 15.

Ariza to Domas y Valle.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR VICEROY AND CAPTAIN GENERAL: Under date of the 7th instant, I informed your worship, by the boat on service at this establishment, that the packet of letters had arrived from Carolina, including another which, under the aforesaid date, I addressed to your excellency, and which was brought to this place by the adjutant, Don Manuel de Milla, and the captain of Sucubti, Urruchurchu, or Suspani. The said "carriers," after they had rested two days, represented to me that they desired to take their departure, in consequence of their being required to return to their destination with dispatch, without waiting for the answer of your excellency. On the 10th instant, at six o'clock in the morning, they embarked here, to effect the return by way of the large river of Chucunaque, and to reach the mountain chain by proceeding up the rivers Fuganti and Chneti, to a point one day's journey from Carolina.

According to the various journeys which I have made through those districts, I conceived they would reach Carolina from the 13th to the 20th of the current month.

The said travelers have been treated as your excellency desired. They were well satisfied with the manner in which they were treated by us. Urruchurchu offered to send to me from Chneti, their point of embarkation, his brother Ygnacio, or, in case of his absence, some Indian of consideration, to inform me of their journey, and whether the Indians who joined them are friendly.

Both Milla and Urruchurchu have told me that immediately on their arrival at Carolina, they intended to open the road with the help of other captains of Indians and infantry officers, already appointed for that purpose, though, as it is believed, the Chucunas are opposed thereto.

Milla states that the road on this side, nearly as far as the house of

Suspani, is already made, the ground being quite level; and that on the other side, to the northward, the ascent of the mountain ridge is almost imperceptible, so that, in the state in which it now is, trains of beasts of burden can almost pass and come even to this place.

The survey of this route was the duty which your excellency confided to the management and effective energy of Milla. The aforesaid Indians, the Chucunas, are the same as those who opposed our troops in the month of January, when I went to measure the inundation at the hill of Betanzos.

Suspani states that they will not relinquish that post, and on that account he deviated from the route on the opposite side.

God protect your excellency for many years. Principe, March 15, 1788.
ANDRÉS DE ARIZA.

Señor Don JOSEF DOMAS Y VALLE.

No. 16.

Milla's report to Domas y Valle.

Having been commissioned by his lordship, the viceroy, to make a journey across the territories of Darien from north to south, I left Carolina on the 2d day of the present month, accompanied by three Indians, who were to act as my guides, with the understanding that Captain Suspani had paved the way, and agreed beforehand with the other tribes, especially with the Chucumaques, for a free and uninterrupted passage as far as the establishment at Puerto Principe. But as soon as I arrived near the territories of the said instructable Indians, Suspani admitted the risk of an encounter with the Chucunas, in consequence of his not having communicated with them, which he assured the commandant of Carolina he had done. Thus it became necessary to pass these territories secretly, effacing the foot-marks that I made.

All of this was sufficient reason for my returning without concluding my commission, had I not been incited by the ardent wish to accomplish this undertaking, so desirable for the great advantage of his Majesty's service.

In fact, forgetful of the dangers referred to, I succeeded in accomplishing the undertaking at the expiration of six days, resting some time in certain places upon the route. At Puerto Principe, Suspani suggested that the Chucuna Indians might waylay us upon the return. For this reason I resolved to effect the return by way of the rivers Savana, Fuganti, and Chneti, spending on this very circuitous route from ten to twelve days. As soon as we reached the village Yavisa, I was made aware, by a letter from the governor of this province, Don Andres de Ariza, that two Indians had followed our footsteps very nearly as far as Principe. Upon this Suspani became much troubled, apprehending that the Chunas might waylay us at the mouth of the Fuganti River. Consequently it appeared to him expedient that I should not run this risk, but that he should be dispatched with the letters to Carolina, while I returned to Puerto Principe. He proposed to return and fetch me so soon as he had settled everything. In virtue of this I adopted the resolution which appeared to him advisable, and, considering that it was expedient for the royal service that my return to my destination should be effected as speedily as possible, I immediately set out on my journey to this city, and hence to Porto Bello, confident that your excellency

would freely grant me the necessary assistance, and would give directions accordingly to the governor of Puerto Bello.

God protect your excellency many years. Panama, 20th March, 1788.

MANUEL DE MILLA, *Santa Ma.*

DON JOSÉ DOMAS Y VALLE.

No. 17.

Domas y Valle to the Viceroy.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: I inclose to your excellency the adjoined letter from the governor of Darien, Don Andres de Ariza, inasmuch as he transmitted it to me specially for that purpose at the time of advising me by the document No. 1 of the arrival of Captain Suspani at the establishment of Principe, together with the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, two Indians and a linguist. To the official letter from your excellency of the 7th of February, received on the 15th of the current month through the medium of Don Francesco Fersen, (or by way of the new road that is to be opened from Carolina to this place,) I replied immediately, by my letter No. 2, in order that the said Suspani or Milla may convey it at the time of their returning to the place of their destination; whereof I transmit the information to your excellency for your better guidance.

God protect your excellency for many years. Panama, 20th March, 1788.

Most excellent sir,

JOSÉ DOMAS Y VALLE.

Most Excellent Señor VICEROY and

CAPTAIN-IN-CHIEF of *these Kingdoms.*

No. 18.

MILLA'S SECOND JOURNEY ACROSS THE CORDILLERA.

Journal of the track by the route which I followed in the passage made across the Isthmus of Darien from north to south.

On the second of the present month, Sunday, I left Carolina at 6 o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the Indian Suspani, chief of the village of Sucubti, and two of his companions, and the interpreter Pisquinto. We commenced our journey by way of the Aglatomate, following up the course of its waters with slight and repeated crossings, until we arrived in the vicinity of the mountain chain where the Indians of Chueti keep a small hut, (the same that I described in my first official letter, dated January 22,) which serves as a lodging for them and for those of Sucubti usually carrying on their trade with Carolina by this road. From Carolina to this place the distance may be about two leagues and a half, observing that on arriving at the point which they call the "two mouths," the one on the right must be followed; in the summer time it is entirely dry.

In order to the recognition of this place, a small Indian hut covered with plantain leaves will be seen, and at a short distance from this spot will be perceived, looking along the line which forms the mountain chain, a mountain rather less than the range to the right. At this place water

will already have been found in this branch. Thus far the bed of the Agiatomate is in some places sand, in others gravel; and from this place onward the stones show above water and are easily moved. Taking great care that these marks are recognized, on the right of the river will be found the road or pathway leading to the aforesaid lodging, (*hospitium*,) which stands at about sixteen to twenty yards from the margin of the river.

From this place, the right path to ascend the mountain chain from north to south is unmistakable, inasmuch as on passing three or four contiguous and small ravines, (*quebradas*,) or, more properly speaking, on passing one and the same ravine three or four times, and paying a little attention, there will be found on the left hand a deep hollow much trodden, which is where the mountain begins to ascend, the pathway being so wide and trodden that it appears as though it had been made by ourselves. The whole of the ascent is rather steep, and at the border of it the trunk of a fallen tree will be met with which impedes the direct line of the road; but both to the right and left there is a passage.

Standing at this point the shimmer of the sea may be described, nay, Carolina itself may be seen, although it is impossible to see both sides of it. The pathway must be followed without taking any notice of that to the left which leads to Chueti, and following the one to the right which is almost direct from north to south, we may reach the top of the mountain, and make the descent, which is not so steep, although somewhat longer.

The termination of the declivity of this chain of mountains forms an acute angle, at the point of which the rivers Forti and Sucubti are met with, and which form the angle. As soon as we arrive at this spot, we may proceed down the river, which is only one, since there the two unite and form one river, the Sucubti. If you follow the course of this river with the stream, which runs southward, without any difficulty whatever, there will be found, after a journey of three or four hours, a plantation of plantain trees, and a very small house, and in half an hour afterwards another, both on the right bank; and in about an hour afterwards, a similar one on the left-hand side. A quarter of a league farther down a larger house will be met with than those referred to on the left, which is that of Ignacio, the elder brother of Urruchurchu, the same in which they received me when I went out with him the first time, in the month of January. In this house I took rest upon this last route, arriving at it at the hour of two in the afternoon, whence, after resting myself, I proceeded on my journey by a road that is at the back of it, and ascending a small mountain of "live rock," (the pathway over which is unmistakable in consequence of its being much trodden,) at the distance of about half a league, I again descended to the aforesaid river, which at this spot contains many large rocks, which may be avoided by going either to the left or to the right, according to the convenience.

Without losing sight of the river, we find, at the distance of a league, first an Indian house; a short distance thence another; and, at the like distance from the latter, is the town or village of Sucubti, where the Captain Urruchurchu has his residence. This village is composed of six houses, together with those above referred to, and two or three lower down; the number of the inhabitants whereof will be about thirty Indians capable of bearing arms, a few more women, and sixty children of both sexes. On Monday the third, I staid the whole day in this village in consequence of the said Urruchurchu's being engaged in making arrangements for the journey that we were about to undertake. On Tuesday the fourth, I took my departure, accompanied by the said cap-

tain and two Indians belonging to him; at daybreak proceeding along the banks of the river, with the stream, or at various points leaving it, all the ground being level and clear of wood; about ten o'clock in the day, after having walked about two leagues, we left the river entirely. We continued the journey by a path made by the Indians, which is to the left of the river. The whole of the rest of this day we proceeded through a forest, very level and open, which is where the Indians of Sucubti carry on the chase, inasmuch as it abounds in all descriptions of game. At about half past five o'clock in the evening we made a halt in a small valley, where, in a small pool, was scarcely sufficient water to satisfy our wants.

On Wednesday the fifth we continued this route through the same forest, and at about ten o'clock in the day we again met with the river Sucubti, at a place where the Indians made an attack upon the lieutenant of the permanent battalion of Panama and wounded the guide. As soon as we arrived at this spot, Urruchurchu told me that we could not proceed any further until some Indians arrived with their pirogues, (canoes,) which would convey us the remaining short distance to the road which the Spaniards had opened. We were waiting the arrival of these pirogues until Thursday the 6th, when there arrived four with eight Indians, who, as I understood, were Uruichucunas; and from the great suspicions and greater mistrust that I entertained of them, I knew that they were of those included in our truce, and that they were allied with the rebellious Chucunas, who, I informed myself, were always upon the lookout to fall upon any of our people who should proceed into the forest from the settlement of Puerto Principe. These Indians made to me various statements all full of deception and opposed to the opening of the road. They said that they do not wish to have troops marching through their territories; and that in order to have the communication that we desire with Puerto Principe, it is sufficient that they themselves should carry to and fro such parcels of letters as we might require. They said also, that they desire to be at peace with us but on the condition that they remain in their territories and we in ours; to all which I gave my consent in order that they might allow me to continue my journey. Upon which they were satisfied, Urruchurchu having made them a present of some yards of manufactures of those that his excellency gave to him at Carthagena, which for that purpose he brought with him secretly. On this day at about twelve o'clock we embarked upon the river, and at about two leagues thence we made a halt near to the road they call the Ariza Road.

On Friday the 7th, at daybreak, we continued the journey by the road opened by the Spaniards, and at three o'clock we passed the river Chucuna by a floating bridge, and arrived at the island where Don Luis de la Carrera was encamped. There we met with fresh tracks and huts of the Chucunas, at which Urruchurchu was much troubled, and in order to conduct me with the greatest precaution he proceeded forward with the other Indians, I following him at a distance, until passing the other branch of this river newly called "La Paz." At this spot the guides were dismissed, as we considered ourselves out of danger. Nevertheless, using the precaution to efface with the hands my foot-prints in the sand, they agreed that when we returned we should not pass that way lest we should encounter the Chucunas. We continued our journey with Urruchurchu, and at about five o'clock in the evening we arrived at Puerto Principe. Suspani resolved that on our return we should proceed by way of the river Saranas, Chucunaque, and Fubuganti, landing at the village of Chueti, one short day's journey from the road to Carolina.

This idea was considered judicious by Don Andres de Arisa, who looked into the matter. On the 10th I proceeded on my return route for my destination by the way just indicated. I spent two days in reaching the village of Yavisa, it being necessary to await the tides. I stopped the whole of the 12th, waiting to have two pirogues made ready for the remainder of the journey by water; at nine o'clock p. m. of that same day we again proceeded on our course. Having informed Urruchurchu that the governor had written to me that two Indians had been in the vicinity of Puerto Principe, following our steps, at this information he was much vexed, and stated that these Indians were Chucunas; that they were waiting for us; and that he suspected that when they perceived we did not return by the route we had come, they would meet us at the mouths of the river Fubuganti. Upon this information and foreseeing danger, I determined to return and to dispatch the Captain Suspani to Carolina with the parcels of letters that I was conveying. This arrangement he thought advisable, in order to avoid accident, the blame of which would be thrown upon him in spite of his honest intentions.

MANUEL MILLA, *Santa Ma.*

YAVISA, *March 13, 1788.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Under date of the thirteenth of the current month from Yavisa, the adjutant, Don Manuel Milla, states to me the following:

"By the annexed diary you will be made acquainted with all that I have done as well as with the motive for adopting this precaution. It would be much to be regretted if, after having succeeded in this attempt, any misfortune should happen at the very last moment. I cannot explain this more fully, because Suspani and his Indians are overlooking me; but as soon as I arrive at Puerto Principe I will do so more in detail, assuring you that my return to this station will be as speedy as possible.

"God protect your excellency for many years. Yavisa, March 13, 1788.

"MANUEL DE MILLA, *Santa Ma.*

"Señor Don FRANCISCO FERSEN."

I communicate to your excellency the accompanying original journal of the journey of this officer, whose singular merit and zeal in the service has been manifested on this important occasion. He has so well accomplished his purpose that I do not doubt that your excellency will deem him worthy to be brought under the notice of the sovereign, in order that he may obtain through the royal favor the reward merited by such distinguished services.

God protect your excellency many years. Carolina, March 24, 1788.

FRANCISCO DE FERSEN.

Most Excellent Señor Don ANTONIO CAVALLERO Y GORGORA.

No. 19.

Don Antonio Caballero y Gorgora to Don Andres de Ariza.

MOST EXCELLENT AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR: On the 16th of the current month I informed your excellency of the unexpected return of

Don Manuel de Milla by way of Panama. This officer was commissioned to acquaint your excellency, in detail, with the circumstances that have transpired with Captain Suspani. Being doubtful (now that he has altered his route) whether the knowledge of those circumstances which have taken place may not be delayed in reaching your excellency, and knowing that they ought to be carefully weighed by your superior judgment, so that you can form a correct opinion of the fidelity of the said Indian, I make the following communication :

In the first place, shortly after he left his house at Sucubti with Milla, he arrived at a road or opened pathway, which I ordered to be made in the month of November, 1786, and he told Milla "This is the path opened by the people from Principe." On this authority Milla informed me that my troops had opened a good road almost as far as the aforesaid village and up to the foot of the mountain range. I replied that through want of guides we are still unfamiliar with it. Milla, likewise, informed me that Suspani, mistrustful of the Indians of Moreti and of the Chucunas, had deviated, for his safety, from the direct road at different points.

The Indians of Arnachucuna (a gorge that discharges its waters at Sucubti) showed themselves openly to be our friends. From the neighborhood of this gorge there accompanied him, among others, the Chevaliers Yxpoli and Metecernia; to whom, for this act of loyalty, I sent as a present some pieces of cloth and cutlass each, intimating to them that I was desirous of being acquainted with them, to pay them even greater facilities.

I have endeavored to show myself towards Suspani and his two relatives who accompanied him kind as well as generous; in return for which, by civilities and expressions of gratitude, they have given the plainest proof of loyalty. I made known to Suspani my desire to make the acquaintance of his wife and children, in order to pay them civilities also. I mentioned them by the name Milla had given to them, and I added thereto a name of my own, with which he was much pleased, and offered to bring them with him within the third or fourth moon. After which, and as an evidence of my sincerity, I presented these children with some gifts, such as cambrics, chintzes, kerchiefs, looking-glasses, and one doubloon for each person, besides some dolls made of earthenware for the little ones. I gave to Suspani a coverlet or pouch embroidered at Quito, some gold studs for the wrists, and a gratuity of an ounce of gold. I granted liberty to some prisoners who solicited it through his intervention. I also remunerated the interpreter and the other two Indians, already mentioned, with another doubloon each. To our friend Milla, the first who had traversed the Isthmus, I presented, as a reward, half a dozen ounces of gold. These presents, with those already mentioned, produced in all of them an overwhelming sense of pleasure and confidence. When they took their departure they offered to send to me forthwith from Fubaganti, Suspani's brother, in order that I might make his acquaintance, and that he might give me notice of the progress of their journey.

In obedience to my orders the inhabitants of the villages belonging to this government through which he passed received Milla with the greatest kindness and civility and disinterested confidence which Suspani could possibly wish for. At Pinorgana, which is distant from Yavisa more than two leagues, all the Indians assembled together with the cazique, paying many compliments to Suspani and to his wife, so that everything has been mutually gratifying; in consequence of which, as reported, he made them a very feeling speech, assuring them of his unalterable loyalty, and saying that he considered himself allied with the

Spaniards as intimately "as pitch is with timber." When Milla resolved to return from the mouth of the River Tapisa, at two leagues distance from the village of Yavisa, Suspani returned also, in order to request a certificate from the commandant of the post that he had delivered him safe and sound; so that in the event of Milla's death no charge could be brought against him. I suppose that he will have reached Carolina on Holy Tuesday, the 18th of the current month.

Suspani made a very ambitious display, not only of the favors he had received from your excellency, but likewise of the title of "Captain" with which he was invested, causing it to be read in an audible voice in all places through which he passed, and even in my presence.

He has told me that even should the Moretis and Chucunas not willingly accept our friendship, he would compel them to do it by force. I doubt, however, his power, because he has shown much apprehension for his own life. He might do it with ease by the assistance of the king's troops, and the more easily when I have a road opened towards the Chucunas, to within a short distance of their village, on level ground.

It is reported that the two Indian tribes referred to are displeased, because they were not consulted as to an amicable arrangement, in order that they might enjoy its benefits in the same way that Suspani and the other captains are doing, through the generosity and kindness of your excellency, who has given the presents to the families of those who consented to the said amicable arrangements. This indicates a jealous hope of enjoying similar advantages rather than an obstinate opposition to us. These Indians, moreover, state the necessity for your excellency to open an extensive road through this country, in order to carry letters. This they are willing to do without the Spaniards coming to examine their territories—a privilege which their ancestors never have permitted. All these expressions of their sentiments rather manifest weakness than arrogance.

The Lord of armies has been pleased to take our part, and by His sovereign assistance the greatest difficulties will be made smooth.

Suspani showed great fear upon approaching Principe, and made Milla proceed in advance, in order to guard against surprise, telling him that we were always upon the lookout in this vicinity against the Indians, and he thought it prudent to give notice beforehand of Milla's approach lest we should take his life. All along the route by which they passed, Suspani pointed out to this officer the places where he had had encounters with our troops, relating to him in detail all that had transpired.

When he saw the captain of the guard and inspectors of roads, Gabriel Morales, he said, "I thought that this man was dead, because I once shot at him when he was very close to me." See the journal of the 2d of August, 1786, drawn up by Captain Morales. When he crossed the large interior bay of Bocachica, in front of the moated house of Sutuganti, he said, "They built this here because in one of my excursions I sank a canoe here which was going to Panama laden with fruit." In passing in front of the River Tagenia, he said, "Up this river I burned the village, (a provincial village or Tival village,) the population of which were blacks," (negroes.) See the communication that I made on this subject in January, 1785. To Captain Morales Suspani said: "Why did our troops infest his river so much that even when they had entered others they always fell back upon Sucubti to commit hostilities, and not upon the people of the neighboring territories?"

To which Morales replied, it was because we had ascertained that it was from this river alone came the Indians to molest our villages and boats.

All which I submit to the superior understanding of your excellency, persuaded that not only will they be well received, but probably that these advices may be found useful, so that you may be able by means of them to form your future arrangements.

God protect your excellency for many years. Darien, March 26, 1788.
Don ANTONIO CABALLERO Y GORGORA.

Most Excellent Sir Señor ANDRES DE ARIZA.

WASHINGTON, *February 2, 1870.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to the department herewith, a letter from Brevet Major General O. O. Howard, which is accompanied by a description of a coal mine in the State of Panama, one day's journey from the railroad, and having a water communication with the sea.

The description of this mine is drawn up by Rev. Richard Temple, late British chaplain at Aspinwall, now settled in the State of New York. He is the present proprietor of the mine.

The importance of this discovery, should the coal mine prove to be a valuable one, is very great. The subject has commanded the interest and attention of the government at a former period.

I therefore respectfully suggest, that these papers be added to my last communication concerning the Isthmus of Darien, which has recently been called for.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. H. DAVIS,
Rear-Admiral.

Hon. GEORGE M. ROBESON,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 21, 1870.*

DEAR SIR: I have long known Mr. Richard Temple, and take great pleasure in commending him to you and in stating that his statements can be implicitly relied upon.

I thought it might be of importance to the government to ascertain the character of the mines of which he speaks.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. O. HOWARD,
Brevet Major General U. S. A.

Admiral DAVIS.

The discovery of coal on the Isthmus of Panama.

The existence of coal on the Isthmus of Panama has always been a subject of great interest, both to science and commerce. About three years since Captain Daniel George, a citizen of the State of Panama, discovered a large deposit of excellent semi-bituminous coal on the Rio Indio, (the river of the Indians,) in the territory of the department of Coele, district of Penonomé, sovereign State of Panama.

Extensive grants of land were made to Captain George by the State of Panama, which he has legally transformed to Richard Temple, the present proprietor.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MINES.

1. *Uvero*.—The coal at this mine crops out in different places and in different forms. The well or shaft was dug here near the base of the hill, which is about one hundred feet high, and lightly wooded. The dip of the seam at the well seems perpendicular; while on the opposite side of the hill it appears again, and there the seam runs horizontally.

2. *Iaboncillo*.—This mine is described as a wonderful deposit of coal. The vein crops out on the banks of the Rio Indio, where it rises about thirty feet, and extends up and down the stream for about three hundred yards. The canoe can be put close alongside. The hill on which the well was dug rises about sixty feet from the banks of the river.

3. *Esterial*.—This mine is situated on the bank of a small stream that flows into the River Esterial, which also empties into the Rio Indio. Near the small stream, where the coal is found there rises a hill about two hundred feet high. The dip of the vein is about 60° , the thickness of the seam about six feet. The coal as seen on the opposite side of the stream seems to run in the direction of Guinea, with the dip of 60° . The land is quite level between these two mines.

4. *Guinea*.—This mine is at the side of a thinly-wooded hill, of about fifty or sixty feet high. The vein appears about nine feet thick, with but little dip, being nearly horizontal. The general course runs west.

THE MINES IN GENERAL.

The foregoing descriptions were given by Captain George from memory. I should judge from them and from what he said otherwise, that what has been granted to him as "The Rio Indio coal mine," consisting, as expressed in the grant, of four distinct veins or mines, is, in reality, but a single underlying stratum thrown up into different forms by some great internal movement in former years. That there are immense coal deposits there seems evident proof from the statements of all who have been there. The freedom with which some of the larger and better specimens burn leads to the reasonable conclusion that the coal is of a valuable quality, that is, when taken from such depths as to secure fair specimens.

MODES OF COMMUNICATION.

1. *Road from Penonomé to Aspinwall*.—There is a road from the interior city of Penonomé to Aspinwall, passing by the mines. It is a cattle road, chiefly used in summer. From the mines to Penonomé is a two-days' ride on mules; and from the mines to Aspinwall, one day and a half.

2. *Down the Rio Indio*.—The streams from the mines fall into the Rio Indio. This is a river, in ordinary water, of sufficient size for large canoes, with a heavy current for nine months of the year, when full. The port is narrow and only adapted for light-draught vessels. An engineer alone could decide whether the outlet could be made available or not. My own opinion is that the river can be made available for at least a portion of the year, but the port lies on the Atlantic side.

3. *By the way of Chagres*.—From the mines to Gatun, where one strikes the railroad, is a day's journey. Flat-bottom boats can go down during nine months of the year. The country is everywhere heavily timbered. Gatun would be the cheapest and best temporary outlet.

4. *By the way of Chorrera*.—There is no open road to Chorrera, which

is probably the nearest point on the Pacific coast; but Indians speak of going there through the forest in two days on foot. There is a large stream that runs from the direction of the mines capable of floating small steamers. Of this, however, nothing can be satisfactorily ascertained until a complete survey be made. In January, February, and March, Indians could be sent through the forest and the best information be obtained.

Population.—The entire population in the neighborhood of the mines consists of Indians, (Choloes.) They are quiet, peaceable, and industrious, quite unlike the worthless population of the coast. They number, I should think, about three thousand.

Wages.—They would probably ask from sixty cents to a dollar per day, and find themselves.

Living.—Living is very cheap when the productions of the country are used. There is good beef, with fruits and vegetables in immense variety.

Climate.—The climate is much superior to the coast.

Seasons.—There are about eight months of the year called rainy months, and four usually without rain.

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